*Tells the Facts and Names the Names*

# CounterPunch

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■ IN THIS ISSUE ■

**First Report from Inside the Special Prosecutor's Office**

- **How Starr screwed up**
- **How he lost his nerve**

**"A Light Blow to the Spinal Cord"**

- **Another CIA murder memo**

**The Spin on Burma**

- **Unocal hires Edelman Worldwide to promote its pipeline project**

***Our Little Secret***

- **Richard Cohen's sex toys**
- **Kissinger on Clinton**
- **Sex-Mad Generals: what the press missed**
- **Greenpeace dumps Dudley**

## *Letting Hillary Off the Hook:*
# Why Starr's Staff Hates Him

There's now civil war inside the offices of independent counsel Kenneth Starr who has been probing Whitewater and related matters at a cost of millions for nearly three years. According to a direct account to us here at **CounterPunch** from a member of Starr's staff—the first such report—the elite team of prosecutors assembled by Starr was ready to indict the First Lady and several others months ago. Furious debates raged as Starr, cowed by the pro-Hillary propaganda orchestrated by James Carville, refused to move.

When Starr suddenly announced this spring that he had accepted a job as dean of Pepperdine University law school, the press reported that Starr's staff of lawyers and investigators was devastated. Not so, according to **CounterPunch**'s informant who has been with the investigation since it began. Among Starr's team there was open jubilation that their boss, whom many of them had come to despise, was on his way out. Gloom descended abruptly when Starr realised that he had miscalculated, and decided to stay.

Starr's subordinates now fear that Starr is ready to settle for a favorable Supreme Court ruling against the assertion of privilege on the White House lawyers' notes regarding the removal of Whitewater-related documents from Vince Foster's office. Then he'll let Hillary off the hook, making her, at the very worst turn, an unindicted co-conspirator. Indeed months ago, according to another Friend of **CounterPunch**, Starr confided to C. Boyden Gray, White House counsel to George Bush, that he felt he simply couldn't get away with indicting HRC.

From the word go, our informant tells us, there was tension in Starr's office, with the battle lines being drawn between the seasoned criminal prosecutors and the civil attorneys who had readier access to, and influence over, Starr. The prosecutors wanted to focus the probe on crimes committed after the Clintons arrived in Washington and to follow a traditional and effective strategy: knock off lower ranking officials with indictments, force them to plea bargain, grant them immunity and put them in front of the grand jury. "You go from Craig Livingstone to Maggie Williams," says our source, "right on up to William Kennedy, Bernard Nussbaum and Bruce Lindsay. That's how you nail the First Lady." (Livingstone was the head of White House security; Williams is HRC's chief of staff; Watkins was director of White House management and administration; Kennedy and Nussbaum were, respectively, assistant and chief White House counsel; Lindsay served as counselor to the President.)

The prosecutors felt that they had these six against the wall and that they would deliver Hillary. At this point in the investigation—shortly after HRC's billing records mysteriously appeared in the private quarters of the White House—Starr called in HRC to testify before the grand jury. Our source tells us emphatically that after HRC's testimony the feeling among the prosecutors was that "there were enough contradictions in [HRC's] testimony before the DC grand jury to pursue obstruction of justice and perjury charges. It's our feeling that the grand jury would have indicted her."

But Starr was unnerved by the press coverage of HRC's appearance before the grand jury, which he felt made him look like an inquisitorial bully. He began to listen to his civil litigators urging prudence and discretion. Starr was also feeling deflated, our informant tells us, after he'd succumbed to a bout of conspiratorialism over the death of White House counsel Vince Foster.

*(Continued on page. 8)*

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# Our Little Secret

## 'Tis Pity He's a Whore

For a man responsible for writing some of the dreariest and most pompous political commentary of our time, Sidney Blumenthal has garnered an amazing amount of coverage by dint of transition into employment at the Clinton White House. Blumenthal is allegedly being paid to come up with big ideas for Bill to get his teeth into, for that yearned-for leap into the history books.

Even though much of the coverage has been derisive in tone, the mere fact that he's earned so much ink is a plus for Sidney, who has been leading a somewhat spectral existence ever since Tina Brown dumped him from the *New Yorker* for being too ecstatic a flack for the Clintons.

On June 16 the *Washington Post*'s Howard Kurtz unleashed thousands of words on the topic of Blumenthal, amidst which unwary readers found themselves becalmed in an emollient quote about SB from his pal Christopher Hitchens arguing that a straightforward whore for the Clintons like Blumenthal is somehow morally preferable to those part-time whores for the Clintons pretending to be respectable members of the journalistic profession.

We'll leave **CounterPunch** readers to make up their own minds on that one. Certainly, as a full-timer in the oldest profession Blumenthal never lost the chance to service his clients. When he was still writing for the *New Yorker* and attracting ridicule for his slavish raptures to the Clintons, his friend Seymour Hersh thought he'd do Blumenthal a favor and help him to more balanced coverage. Hersh told Blumenthal that some FBI and Secret Service types were madder than hell about goings on in the Clinton White House and were ready to spill the beans.

**When Seymour Hersh gave Blumenthal an early tip on Filegate, Sid knew just what to do.**

Meeting Blumenthal a few weeks later, Hersh asked how he'd been doing on the story that would retrieve his reputation with Tina Brown. "I raised the whole matter with the President", Blumenthal told Hersh with gratified pride, and he's deeply concerned!"

## Game and Set to Henry

At a recent New York social event Henry Kissinger ambled over to say hello to Princeton professor Steve Cohen. In the late 1980s Cohen enjoyed a brief spell in the limelight of CBS news shows as a pundit ever-ready to discuss the bright promise of Mikhail Gorbachev and his *perestroika*. Cohen introduced Kissinger to his wife, Katrina vanden Heuvel, editor of *The Nation*. At mention of this periodical HK bridled. "I suppose I am regularly described in it as a mass murderer."

"Oh no", Cohen responded winsomely. "These days *The Nation* would more likely say something like that about Bill Clinton."

Kissinger brooded briefly. "Bill Clinton does not have the moral fiber to be a mass murderer."

## Ralston: *The Real Record*

Cud-chewers had a field day with the kibosh finally put on Gen. Joseph Ralston's bid to be named as Gen. John Shalikashvili's successor as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Ralston owned up to an affair with a (female) CIA officer some years earlier while—at least so he claimed—on official furlough from his marriage. Braced by a torrent of letters and calls from constituents angered at the Air Forces' treatment of Kelly Flinn, the first female B-52 flier, members of Congress told Ralston he hadn't a prayer of winning the JCS chairmanship.

The *Los Angeles Times*'s Robert Scheer mourned that Ralston's service record was "superb, and no one doubts that he would have made a terrific chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff just as Kelly Flinn was obviously a great B-52 pilot". At the time Ralston was launching his superb service record by spraying Vietnamese and Laotian peasants with bomb and bullet (147 missions), Scheer was editing the anti-war *Ramparts*. As a "great" B-52 pilot Flinn's prowess would, in the event of conflict, be displayed either in the form of dropping high explosives on more peasants or in dumping nuclear bombs and thus ending everything, including the *Los Angeles Times* and all its columnists.

In fact Ralston's indiscretion with the lady spy from Langley has spared the taxpayer a JCS chairman whose recent career performance suggests a readiness to roll over to the arms contractors vulgar even by the depraved standards of the Defense Department. As Shalikashvili's second-in-command on the JCS, Ralston was in charge of the Quadrennial Defense Review, which issued its report last May. The QDR makes recommendations on weapons acquisitions and budgetary targets. Ralston stuck fervently to business as usual, with continued funding for such grotesque programs as the F-22 (see our last edition of **CounterPunch** for inside dope on this dollar-gobbling dog), the infamous Joint Strike Fighter and other boondoggles, thus continuing the inexorable logic of a procurement system that will end up with an annual $200-250 billion being remitted directly to the aerospace companies without weapons to show for it or dollars remaining to pay for the personnel to use them.

The fact that Scheer can write paeans

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to Ralston shows the low ebb to which reporting on one of the nation's prime budgetary commitments defense has fallen. Rather than trying to drag the current object of his political esteem, Ariana Stassinopoulos, (Nixon and Oliver Stone are two famous former flames) to the homes of his horrified Washington friends, Scheer should return to the business of finding out how the world really works.

The better to console himself, Gen. Ralston should dip into some memoirs of the Second World War. He might start with Kay Summersby's *Past Forgetting*. Summersby was Ike's driver.

First, the declaration of love: "Goddammit, can't you tell I'm crazy about you?" he barked at me.

"It was like an explosion. We were suddenly in each other's arms. His kisses

**The fact that Scheer can write paeans to Ralston shows the low ebb to which defense reporting has fallen.**

absolutely unraveled me. Hungry, strong, demanding. And I responded every bit as passionately. He stopped, took my face between his hands. 'Goddammit', he said, I love you.'"

Then the let-down.

"Ike refilled our glasses several times and then, I suppose inevitably, we found ourselves in each others' arms in an unrestrained embrace. Our ties came off. Our jackets came off. Buttons were unbuttoned. It was as if we were frantic. And we were. But this was not what I had expected. Wearily, we slowly calmed down. He snuggled his face into the hollow between my neck and shoulder and said, 'Oh God, Kay, I'm sorry. I'm not going to be any good for you.' I didn't know what to say except, 'You're good enough for me. What you need is some sleep.'"

That was the nearest they ever got to it.

When Kim Philby read this he made some coarse remark about "Ike not being able to cut the mustard." Typical dirty spy talk.

According to David Irving's very funny *The War Between the Generals* Ike tried to pass Summersby on to his aide, Everett S. Hughes. Hughes noted in his diary "Ike wants me to take Kay with car thrown in."

When Summersby published a book in 1948, Montgomery wrote to Eisenhower, stating that he had learned "your lady driver and secretary has written a book" and maliciously asked for a copy.

Jean Gordon was the daughter of Patton's wife's half-sister. In 1944 Patton told Hughes "She's been mine for twelve years." She had grown up in the Patton household. She called him Uncle Georgie. Patton died in a car crash (see the auto in the Dayton military museum) and his niece later killed herself.

## TANTOR FLEES AT HATTIE'S TREAD

The big game lobby is ecstatic at the appointment of Hattie Babbitt, wife of the Secretary of the Interior, as deputy administrator of the Agency for International Development (USAID), a subsidiary of the US State Department. The effervescent Ms. Babbitt, née Coons, will be overseeing the so-called Camp Fire program which shovels millions in grants to environmental and wildlife organizations to support eco-tourism, with an emphasis on big game hunting.

Outfits such as the World Wildlife Fund, Conservation International and the Safari Club favor such hunting, on the "free market" theory that if you can sell a $50,000 permit to hunt an African elephant or leopard, you are creating an economic incentive on the part of the host country to preserve habitat both for leopard and great white hunter, booting out the humble pastoralists who have made their living in a decent and ecologically tolerable manner for hundreds of years .

If Bruce Babbitt's views are any guide, Hattie will be dishing out the grants to groups such as World Wildlife Fund that have been eager supporters of the Clinton administration's global trade policy. Babbitt himself gave the keynote speech to the Safari Club's annual bash two years ago, in which he called for the expansion of trophy hunting and a lowering of any barriers to imports of carcasses, tusks and kindred memorabilia of the chase.

## FAREWELL OUR LOVELIES

We are told by a Greenpeace Board Member that the troubled environmental group is telling national director Barbara Dudley that she should seek fresh opportunity, with the prime reason being Dudley's disastrous position on the dolphin death bill first described here in **CounterPunch**. Our exposé led swiftly to a two-thirds decline in contributions to Greenpeace. Dudley will hang on until a successor is found.

Bid farewell also to another object of our frequent derision. Vic Sher, head of the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, now reborn as Earth Justice, has also been told to clean out his office. Sher appears to be departing under a cloud, though whether the cloud carries a sexual or monetary aroma is hard to determine at time of writing.

## *RICHARD COHEN'S PLEASURE CHEST*

Ever the joke-loving man of the world, Prince Bandar Saudi ambassador to Washington honored the *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen's birthday a few years ago by giving him a box of sex toys. Cohen threw the box in the trunk of his rented car , forgot all about the toys and was only reminded of their existence when an employee of the rental company rang and archly informed him that they were holding his lost items and would he care to come and retrieve them. Cohen never had the nerve.

## A KINDLY WORD FOR THE LUDDITE

"Those who criticize the deployment of certain modern technologies and yet flinch at the sobriquet Luddite are complicit with the logic of progress, fearful about being branded technophobe, or, finally, losers along with the peasantry and doomed tribes. But it is a lie that direct action against the instruments of production has always been hopeless. The Japanese for a time gave up the gun. Captain Swing and the agricultural Luddites who smashed the threshing machines in the 1830s got themselves and their children a reprieve for half a century. The Luddite army of redressers had no leaders, and their machine-smashing was without violence that is to say, they understood the radical distinction between life and property. —

Iain Boal, *Resisting the Virtual Life*

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# The Annotated Unocal: Notes on A Burma Booster

*After more than a year of sloth, the Clinton administration has finally imposed economic sanctions on the military regime in Burma, which rules by terror and keeps opposition leaders under virtual house arrest. But the sanctions are limited. Clinton banned new US investment in Burma but did not require the US oil giant Unocal to withdraw from a huge natural gas pipeline joint venture it has undertaken with the Burmese junta, which is known as the State Law and Order Council, or SLORC.*

*Unocal has been lobbying fiercely in Washington to protect its 28 per cent stake in the pipeline. The company's hired helpers include lobbyist Tom Korologos, an adviser to Bob Dole's presidential campaign, and such beltway think tanks as the Burma/Myanmar Forum and the Asia Pacific Exchange Foundation, which use money from Unocal to sponsor carefully controlled junkets for members of Congress to Burma (see* ***CounterPunch****, Feb. 1–15, 1997).*

*Now* ***CounterPunch*** *has learned that Unocal has retained the PR firm of Edelman Worldwide to help put the best possible spin on its relationship with the Burma thugs. It seems that Edelman has been writing letters to college professors in the hopes that it can induce them to write friendly op-eds and newspaper articles supporting Unocal's participation in the pipeline joint venture. Below we annotate a letter that Edelman associate Katie Connorton sent earlier this year to an Asia specialist at West Coast University (who did not want to be identified). Note that the letter refers to Burma as Myanmar, the name preferred by the SLORC.*

Dear [name deleted],

Knowing of your interest in foreign affairs and international trade issues, we are writing to you on behalf of Unocal, the California oil company which has a large investment in a natural gas pipeline project in Myanmar. (1) As you may know, Congress has passed legislation which would allow the President to impose economic sanctions and ban new U.S. investment in Myanmar if certain conditions are met. Recent actions by the military regime in Myanmar have led some in Congress and human rights activists to call for enactment of these sanctions. (2)

If you have been following the sanctions debate, or are interested in writing about this issue in the future, Unocal would like the opportunity to provide you and your colleagues with an overview of how the Yadana Project is helping Thai land meet its growing energy needs while it brings high-paying jobs, economic development, and socio-economic assistance to the people of Myanmar. (3)

Unocal's 30 years of experience operating in the ASEAN region have shown that continued engagement and economic investment, not diplomatic and economic isolation, is the best way to work toward positive change in countries like Myanmar. Given the limited amount of U.S. investment in Myanmar and the unwillingness of Asian trading partners to support economic sanctions against the country, Unocal does not think sanctions would be an effective tool to change the behavior o f the current regime. (4)

Unocal believes that a better way to seek positive change is for the U.S. government to keep the door open to continued diplomacy and dialogue with Myanmar and to work with its Asian neighbors on a multilateral strategy to affect positive change. In addition, we think that Unocal and other U.S. companies should continue to lead by example through responsible investment in quality projects that lead to continued development and higher living standards for the people, the country and the region. (5)

I hope you will keep these views in mind should you decide to opine on the situation in Myanmar in the future. Edelman would be pleased to arrange for you to meet with one of Unocal's principals to discuss these issues in greater detail. In the meantime, please let me know if you have any questions or would like additional information on Unocal and its operations. (6)

Sincerely,

Katie Connorton (7)

(1) Unocal's investment is large indeed. The total value of the pipeline project, whose other partners include the SLORC, the government of Thailand and the French firm Total, is $1.2 billion. Burma is as desperate as Unocal to ensure that the project move forward. The SLORC is practically bankrupt and the pipeline, which will move natural gas from the Andaman Sea through Burma to Thailand, is seen as the primary means by which the military can drum up the cash reserves it needs to maintain itself in power.

(2) This letter was written before Clinton imposed sanctions last month. In seeking to prevent such a step, Unocal's lobbyists have claimed that the human rights situation in Burma has been improving. This portrait bears no relationship to reality. During the past year, the SLORC has imprisoned thousands of student demonstrators, waged war on the Karen, an ethnic group that lives near the Thai border, and outlawed almost any form of opposition. Amnesty International rated 1996 as the worst year for human rights since 1988, when the military imposed martial law and killed thousands of people.

(3) Unocal's claim that the pipeline project has brought "socio-economic assistance" to Burma's people is particularly gross. The SLORC has forced peasants to labor on a railroad that supplies the pipeline, forcibly relocated villages lying in its path and murdered peasants who oppose the project. The Center for Constitutional Rights filed a lawsuit against Unocal earlier this year on behalf of a number of Burmese peasants who live in the pipeline region and were forced from the area. The lawsuit charges the company with forced labor, crimes against humanity and torture. One of the Burmese plaintiffs—all whom are identified only as "John and Jane Does"—is a woman whose home was invaded by government troops as she nursed her month-old baby. "SLORC Officer 1 kicked her with his booted foot, and she and the baby fell into the fire where Jane Doe became unconscious," reads the lawsuit. "When she awoke, dizzy with pain, SLORC officer 1 was beating and kicking her sister-in-law, and a villager was holding her baby." The child died a few days later.

(4) Unocal's strategy of speaking only in vague terms about the supposed benefits of "engagement" is a wise one, since it's hard to see how participation in a huge joint venture with a cabal of military gang-

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sters could possibly enhance the cause of democracy. Unocal also prefers to avoid discussing the messy details of its involvement in Burma, such as the company's decision to provide the cash-strapped SLORC with a $7 million fertilizer credit. The letter mentions that US investment in Burma is limited, while discreetly failing to note that this is so because a number of big firms, including Disney and PepsiCo, have with drawn from Burma under pressure from US solidarity groups. Edelman also notes here that some Asian countries have been unwilling to support sanctions against Burma. That's hardly surprising since Burma's prime allies on this front are Thailand, one of Unocal's partners in the pipeline joint venture, and Indonesia, headed by the Suharto dictatorship and itself targeted for sanctions by US human rights groups.

(5) Unocal's call to "keep the door open to continued diplomacy" can be translated as "keep the door open to the pipeline project", with this, not "positive change" for Burma, being the company's only concern. Unocal's call for "responsible investment" in the region is also hard to stomach. This is the company that has emerged as the firmest US friend of the fanatical Taliban in Afghanistan. Unocal has another big project brewing in that country and it has straightforwardly said that the deal can only move forward if "political stability" comes to Afghanistan. The Taliban, Unocal believes, is the only faction which can produce that precious commodity, even if it does so by imposing a fundamentalist Islamic regime that executes petty criminals, veils women and imprisons them in the home, and rules by force.

(6) While the professor who received this letter turned Edelman down, the PR firm has surely been contacting many others. For those who accept, Edelman's promise to arrange for a meeting with a Unocal principal will no doubt be accompanied by provision of first class travel and lodging, as well as other perks. **CounterPunch** readers who spot pro-Burma op-eds in their local newspapers written by university types might wish to contact the authors to see if Unocal had a hand in prompting them to "opine on the situation" in Burma.

(7) It's easy to see why Unocal selected Edelman for the sordid task of selling Burma. The company's other clients have included such human rights abusers as India and Mexico. Here at home Edelman shills for UPS, a company with one of the worst records on worker safety, and Charles Hurwitz, the S&L looter who is no w seeking to pillage the Headwaters redwood groves he owns in California. Needless to say, Edelman's efforts have paid off handsomely. It is one of the fastest-growing PR shops in Washington. ■

# More Sleaze From Babylon

Ronald Kessler's new tell-all book *Inside Congress* has barely been commented upon by the press. That's somewhat surprising as Kessler is a former reporter for the *Washington Post* and big name author of several bestsellers. On the other hand, Kessler tells such sordid tales of congressional sleaze that few family newspapers would dare publish his findings.

By Kessler's account, some of the heaviest drinkers in the nation work in the Capitol building. Joseph Schaap, a retired Capitol policeman, told Kessler that on one occasion a conservative Republican was so drunk he fell asleep on the street near his office. "He was a mess. He had vomited on himself . . . I put him in the car. We took him to the Cannon Building and washed him off with a hose in the car wash." Another cop, Rodney Eades, recalls that a drunken Ted Kennedy once nearly ran him over in a car and then screamed at him, calling him a "stupid son of a bitch".

*Inside Congress* also offers squalid stories about little known congressional sex scandals. Some of these stories are dated but amusing. One Capitol Police officer, Gregory Lacoss, recalled making his rounds at 3 a.m. back in the days when Lyndon Johnson was majority leader of the senate. When he opened the door to LBJ's office, the future president was on top of his secretary, Carole Tyler. "I took off running because I knew that man's temper," Lacoss told Kessler. "I ran to the other end of the Senate building . . . He was running after me." Lacoss finally found refuge in Capitol Police offices, where he hid inside a locker, emerging only after LBJ made a cursory search of the room and then continued his hunt elsewhere.

Martin Lobel, a former aide to Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire, told Kessler the story of one female senate staffer who had little trouble seducing members of the upper chamber. "[She] tried to bed every member of the senate," he said. "She almost had a majority."

Then there's Frederique Sandretto, a 27-year-old French women who won a Fulbright Scholar fellowship to study in the US and ended up as an intern at the office of California Rep. Sonny Bono. When Sandretto was hired by Bono, his staffers—one of whom asked during her job interview if Charles de Gaulle was president of France—told her she would specialize in terrorism.

Bono had other ideas. He soon assigned her to escort him on his daily rounds, where he would ask Sandretto about her relationship with her boyfriend and make clumsy come-ons. On one occasion, Bono was so busy trying to seduce Sandretto that he forgot to vote on a crucial appropriations bill. When Sandretto rejected Bono's advances, she was stripped of most of her duties and quit in frustration. ■


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# Murder: Another CIA Manual Surfaces

A few years ago we published in **CounterPunch** a 1947 CIA memo in which an agency contractor outlined the most efficient means of murdering a person. The National Security Archive has obtained a newly released batch of CIA documents concerning the 1954 coup in Guatemala, in which a military dictatorship replace d the elected left-leaning government of Jacobo Arbenz. One of the memos released, provided to us by the Archive's Kate Doyle, also discusses murder techniques. It's far more gruesome than its jaunty 1947 cousin, which interested readers can find in our book *Washington Babylon*.

Of course, as the agency was quick to explain after the Guatemala documents were made public, the CIA would *never, ever* murder foreign "enemies". The memo's author was perhaps imprudent in discussing such an ugly topic. Agency officials have explained, but the CIA never put his suggestions into practice. Given the agency's subsequent attempts to murder Fidel Castro and Chou En-Lai, among others, we find these assurances unconvincing.

Printed below is an edited version of the murder memo, which carries the title "A Study of Assassination":

"Assassination is an extreme measure not normally used in clandestine operations. It should be assumed that it will never be ordered or authorized by any US Headquarters, though the latter may in rare instances agree to its execution by members of an associated foreign service. This reticence is partly due to the necessity of committing communications to paper. No assassination instructions should ever be written or recorded. Consequently, the decision to employ this technique must nearly always be reached in the field, at the area where the act will take place. Decision and instructions should be confined to an absolute minimum of persons. Ideally, only one person will be involved.

Murder is not morally justifiable. Self-defense may be argued if the victim had knowledge which may destroy the resistance organization. Assassination of persons responsible for atrocities or reprisals may be regarded as just punishment. *Killing a political leader whose burgeoning career is a clear and present danger to the cause of freedom may be held necessary.* (**CounterPunch** italics.)

But assassination can seldom be employed with a clear conscience. Persons who are morally squeamish should not attempt it.

The essential point of assassination is the death of the subject. A human being may be killed in many ways but sureness is often overlooked by those who may be emotionally unstrung by the seriousness of this act they intend to commit. The specific techniques employed will depend upon a large number of variables, but should be constant in one point: Death must be absolutely certain. The attempt on Hitler's life failed because the conspiracy did not give the matter proper attention.

Techniques may be considered as follows:

## Manual

It is possible to kill a man with bare hands, but very few are skillful enough to do it well. Even a highly trained Judo expert will hesitate to risk killing by hand unless he has absolutely no alternative. However, the simplest local tools are often much the most efficient means of assassination. A hammer, axe, wrench, screw dri-

## The CIA and the NYT

Also released with the new group of Guatemala documents was the CIA's official history of the 1954 military coup. The history was written by Nick Cullaher, who worked at the agency between 1992 and 1993, and then left to take a position as assistant professor of diplomatic history at Indiana University .

Cullaher's history of the coup is surprisingly blunt. It says that in preparing the operation, "CIA case officers carefully listed the goals . . . beginning with the replacement of Arbenz with a moderate authoritarian regime. [Name deleted] considered democracy an unrealistic alternative for Guatemala. Premature extension of democratic privileges and responsibilities to a people still accustomed to patriarchal methods can only be harmful, he warned. A judicious combination of authority and liberty will have to govern the political system. Concentrating authority in the person of a dictator also involved dangers, and [name deleted ] advised against setting up a Somoza-style dictatorship."

Cullaher concluded that the success of the coup greatly "relied on the uncritical acceptance by the American press of the assumptions behind United States policy. Newspaper and broadcast media, for example, accepted the official view of the Communist nature of the Guatemalan regime. Among the news organizations mentioned by Cullaher were NBC, which in the spring of 1954 aired a documentary called "Red Rule in Guatemala", which decried the supposed menace to the Panama Canal posed by Arbenz. Articles in *Reader's Digest*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Saturday Evening Post* drew a frightening picture of the danger in America's backyard," Cullaher wrote. "Less conservative papers like the *New York Times* depicted the growing menace in only slightly less alarming terms." (CIA chief Allen Dulles successfully pressured *New York Times* publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger to keep correspondent Sidney Gruson out of Guatemala, so Sulzbergers files now show. The *NYT*'s man in Mexico was cooperative in overlooking evidence of training of the anti-Arbenz forces.)

Following the coup, the CIA sent several agents to Guatemala to review papers captured from the Arbenz government. The agency hoped to "conclusively prove the Communist nature of the Arbenz regime". The CIA gathered 150,000 documents but those papers "found no traces of Soviet control and substantial evidence that Guatemala Communists acted alone, without support or guidance from outside the country". ■

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# Contra-Gate Prosecutor Calls Toobin Incompetent and a Thief

Among the more trying fates Americans have to endure is the spectacle of Jeffrey Toobin now pontificating about legal ethics on ABC News and on the pages of the *New Yorker*. For a short time Toobin worked on the staff of Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh's Iran/contra team. In his new book *Firewall* Walsh attacks Toobin, charging him an incompetent investigator, a thief and a hypocrite:

"At this time, former associate counsel Jeffrey Toobin, a young man who had come to us almost fresh out of law school published a book giving his view of the internal workings of our office, the investigation of Elliot Abrams, and his insight into North's trial, which Toobin had witnessed primarily as a spectator. Never having broken a case, or even tried one, but professing to speak for all 'prosecutors,' he characterized McFarlane specifically and all accomplices who testified against their confederates as 'scumbags.' A chapter was devoted to his own shallow investigation of Elliot Abrams . . .

"We did not try to enjoin the publication, but we asked Toobin to delay it at least until all the appellate proceedings in the North case had been completed . . .

"During our negotiations over the timing of the book's publication, Toobin and his publisher surprised us with a preemptive suit to enjoin me from interfering with the publication or punishing Toobin for having stolen hundreds of documents, some of them classified, and for exposing privileged information and material related to the grand jury proceedings. I could understand a young lawyer wanting to keep copies of his own work, but not copying material from the general files or the personal files of others . . .

"A New York federal judge denied Toobin an injunction but declared that his conduct had not been unlawful. The judge left open the question of professional discipline. I was unwilling to try to stay publication even during appeal. While we expedited our appeal, the publisher began selling the book. After hearing oral argument, the court of appeals ordered the dismissal of Toobin's complaint as moot, leaving Toobin vulnerable to punishment. I decided not to pursue Toobin; I did not want to divert any resources. The Justice Department's security officer, however, wanted to recover Toobin's cache of classified documents. After various evasions by Toobin, the security officer found the documents in the wine cellar of the home of one of Toobin's lawyers. Having been torn between a career as a lawyer and one as a writer, Toobin ceased to practice law."

**CounterPunch** called Toobin. He said that he and Walsh simply differed on Abrams, whom he, Toobin, did not think committed any crime. He energetically denied theft of documents, he had removed them with permission, and said that the papers in his lawyer, David Boies's cellar, were not his responsibility. He had returned his own copies. ■

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ver, fire poker, kitchen knife, lamp stand, or anything hard, heavy and handy will suffice. A length of rope or wire or a belt will do if the assassin is strong and agile. All such improvised weapons have the advantage of availability and apparent innocence. The obviously lethal machine gun failed to kill Trotsky where an item of sporting goods succeeded.

## Accidents

The contrived assassination is the most effective technique. When most successfully executed, it causes little excitement and is only casually investigated.

The most effective accident, in simple assassination, is a fall of 75 feet or more onto a hard surface. Elevator shafts, stair wells, unscreened windows and bridges will serve. Bridge falls into water are not reliable. In simple cases a private meeting with the subject may be arranged at a properly cased location. The act may be executed by a sudden, vigorous [word missing] of the ankles, tipping the subject over the edge. If the assassin immediately sets up any outcry, playing the 'horrified witness,' no alibi or surrepititious withdrawal is necessary.

In chase cases it will usually be necessary to stun or drug the subject before dropping him. Care is required to insure that no wound or condition not attributable to the fall is discernible after death.

Falls into the sea or swiftly flowing rivers may suffice if the subject cannot swim. It will be more reliable if the assassin can arrange to attempt rescue, as he can thus be sure of the subject's death and at the same time establish a workable alibi.

Automobile accidents are a less satisfactory means of assassination. If the subject is deliberately run own, very exact timing is necessary and investigation is likely to be thorough. If the subject's car is tampered with, reliability is very low. The subject may be stunned or drugged and then placed in the car, but this is only reliable when the car can be run off a high cliff or into deep water without observation.

## Edge Weapons

Any locally obtained edge device may be successfully employed. A certain minimum of anatomical knowledge is needed for reliability.

Puncture wounds of the body cavity may not be reliable unless the heart is reached. The heart is protected by the rib cage and is not always easy to locate. Absolute reliability is obtained by severing the spinal cord in the cervical region. This can be done with the point of a knife or a light blow of an axe or hatchet. Another reliable method is the severing of both jugular and carotid blood vessels on both sides of the windpipe. If the subject has been rendered unconscious by other wounds or drugs, either of the above methods can be used to ensure death.

## Blunt weapons

As with edge weapons, blunt weapons require some anatomical knowledge for effective use. Their main advantage is their universal availability. A [word omitted ] may be picked up almost anywhere in the world. Baseball and cricket bats are very widely distributed. Even a rock or a heavy stick will do, and nothing resembling a weapon need be procured, carried or subsequently disposed of.

Blows should be directed to the temple, the area just below and behind the ear, and the lower, rear portion of the skull. Of course, if the blow is very heavy, any portion of the upper skull will do. The lower frontal portion of the head , from the eyes to the throat, can withstand enormous blows without fatal consequences. ■

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*(Continued from page 1)*

When Starr took over as independent counsel he inherited the only part of the investigation that had been completed by his predecessor, Robert Fiske: a review of the circumstances of Foster's death. Fiske concluded that Foster had indeed killed himself. But Starr took heed of the wild surmises being spun by such as Richard Mellon Scaife, nutcases on the *Wall Street Journal* editorial pages and the right-wing chat room crowd. He spent far too long chasing wild hares. In the end, Starr not only became disillusioned with the conspiracy theorists but began to lose his enthusiasm for the overall enterprise. It was at this point he began to look for a way out and Pepperdine beckoned. The strategy of the Washington prosecutors—targeting the White House staffers—was dropped and Starr's investigation in Arkansas—sifting through the debris of the Whitewater real estate developments—began to monopolize his attention.

Starr's Washington team felt they still had one clear shot at the First Lady, our informant tells us: HRC had been compiling an enemies list, and was ready to inflict vengeance on Republican White House staffers from the Bush years. HRC believed those Bush veterans had smeared the Clintons during and after the 1992 election. The hoarding of the 900 FBI files was going to be the basis of her revenge. "Craig Livingstone was clearly Hillary's boy," says our informant. The prosecutors felt HRC could be charged with invasion of privacy and perjury, since in depositions she had denied any role in Filegate. But Starr seemed unable to concentrate on this aspect of the investigation and the matter, our source concludes, with considerable anger, "has been left to dangle".

The criminal prosecutors in Starr's office are bitterly frustrated. **CounterPunch**'s informant says they feel the whole issue of attorney-client privilege now before the Supreme Court is "a ruse by Starr." It's like the Paula Jones decision. Starr will use a favorable procedural ruling by the Court to justify the whole investigation. He's likely to culminate this investigation soon thereafter with a final report full of innuendoes, instead of criminal trials of White House officials, including the First Lady." Our source emphasizes the strong belief of the prosecutors in Starr's office that the Washington DC-based grand jury had been ready to hand down a raft of indictments, including one against the First Lady.

**"Many of us feel that Susan McDougal's treatment has been barbaric and counter-productive," says our *CounterPunch* source in Starr's office.**

Almost nothing has angered Starr's subordinates in Washington more than the treatment of Susan McDougal, former wife of Jim McDougal, who was Clinton's original partner in the Whitewater deals and who negotiated a reduction in his own sentence by informing on the President and his wife. Jim McDougal finally went to federal prison in Kentucky to begin serving his three-year term on June 16. Starr's Arkansas team tried to force Susan McDougal to testify before the Little Rock grand jury, but she refused, was cited for contempt of court and is now serving an 18-month sentence for contempt under harshly coercive conditions in a California prison, designed to torture her into testimony against the Clintons.

"Many of us feel that Susan McDougal's treatment has been barbaric and counter-productive," our informant tells us. "It's obvious she can't be compelled to talk. She doesn't know that much material in the way of facts. And what testimony she might give wouldn't have that much credibility before a grand jury anyway."

Our informant says that Starr's Washington prosecutors believe the whole emphasis on McDougal is part of an error in overall strategy. Starr's Arkansas team successfully persuaded him to lay more emphasis on the intricacies of the Clintons' business dealings in the early 1980s, as against the far simpler and more politically relevant pattern of abuses that took place in the White House after the Clintons got there in 1993.

On a more personal level Starr's Washington subordinates have come to regard Starr as "prim and vain". They see him as obsessed with his image and so greedy for money that he was willing to compromise the integrity of the whole investigation by his refusal to sever all ties with his corporate clients and his law firm. ■

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